769 finished the restless children already had become noisy. The ceremony
793 completed, the priest exchanged a few courtesies, explained the sig-
788 nificance of the chant to the father, received a gratuity and left shortly after. The women and the children soon retired, and the men were served saké, but the party was more subdued than the usual social affair.

769 These ceremonies in memory of the dead are the responsibility of
511 the head of the house. These, and not the family tombs, are the real financial burdens. Since the war, village and township governments, and community organizations have tried to persuade the people to spend less on these and to spread what good food they have more evenly throughout the year.

829 They have tried to standardise gifts at marriage, on birthdays,
511 and at deaths, and to cut down the cost of food by simplifying the banquets. In this they have been at least partly successful because everyone recognizes the difficulties. Villagers do not like to spend all their resources on celebrations, and yet, there is an obligation which cannot be avoided. Two sensible adjustments have been made. Economies have been effected in the food served, and, whenever possible, celebrations or holidays that come close together are combined. The 7 year memorial service, described above, was combined by the family with the festival of the autumnal equinox (higan).

536 reminds his mother that he is a school teacher, that if he does not permit his father to enter the house, he can no longer teach school. The mother yields; the son and his wife bring their child to the new found grandfather, and the play closes with the overjoyed grandfather fondling and holding the child in his arms.

In the play, the conflict is resolved by a balancing of obligation with pride. A real father would have been so ashamed that he would [829] never have returned, but then there would have been no play. Only a poor, lonely shameless and crafty fellow would have come back. But once he was back, the son had no alternative but to accept and honor him. The woman's power in the house and her devotion to her son are demonstrated, but she too must yield to the obligation of her son's filial piety, though she does this only after a determined and dignified resistance.

545 Plays on the rural circuit start about 9 and end about 11 in the evening. The entertainment generally consists of an opening traditional dance by a woman, followed by a comedy skit, and a longer play, such as
536 the one just described. Comedy skits usually depend on clumsiness or obtuseness as the sources of their humor. One skit, for example, involved a thief entering a house at night. Clumsy and unsure of his way, he stumbled over everything, made loud noises, and was constantly in fright to see if some fresh stumble had awakened the house. Finally he manages to hide under a table, near which the members of the family are seated discussing a problem. His discovery, due to further awkward motions and noises, the chase, and his final apprehension close the skit.

545 Rural audiences are critical. Some actors cause laughter because their Okinawan pronunciation is considered poor, and the laughter often carries over to the serious parts. Delays between the acts are met with impatience, and there is some prompting from the audience. The admission is Y20 for adults and Y10 for children. The audience sits on the ground. These plays do not attract a large crowd unless the offering is a well liked play.

526 Sports and athletic meets are favorite recreations both for participants and observers. The sports mentioned by travellers 50 or 60 years ago, such as horse racing, boat racing, tugs of war, archery, and boxing have given way to a more organized athletic activity, inspired by the Japanese example. Only the boat racing and the rope tug of war have survived in these villages. Hinatogawa's boat race each year attracts villagers from miles around. All villages, at various times of the year, have a rope tug of war. The annual athletic meets, which will be discussed under education, were introduced into Okinawa about 50 or 60 years ago.

studied remarked on the discomfort of the rustic north. Many people in Matsuda thought the people of the northern district more honest than those of the south. This attitude is partly due to knowledge of crime in Naha. Direct or personal knowledge of other islands of the Ryukyus is exceptional. Few people know more than travelers' tales about Yaeyama, Miyako, or Amami.

Men are better informed about current events than the women. Women do not participate so much in social life, nor do they read so much. Conversations at small gatherings are often on a very serious level. A local antiquarian telling of vanished customs and conditions has a very attentive audience. So has a returned traveler from Japan. These people have a sense of history, curiosity, and respect for knowledge and education.

3

Village Co-operation

One of the most important things to learn about a culture is the nature of its co-operative endeavor. It is useful knowledge in understanding the transition zone between individual and family living and participation in community activities. In these communities, co-operation involves considering the relation of families resident in the village to one another, to their community organizations, and to local government. These relations are stronger than the tie of an individual to an extended family. The nature and the limitations of co-operation can best be described by pointing to examples from each of the villages.

In Hanashiro, mutual help is mainly found, as one might expect, among close and distant relatives of the same family of families related by marriage, who are living in the village. There are extended family ties, which may involve several villages, but this does not mean that tasks are done co-operatively within the extended family. It is uncommon to go to another village to help a relative with his harvest or his housebuilding--and the distance would increase the unlikelihood. Immediate ties to friends, relatives, and neighbors are stronger than those to the more distant members of the extended family.

Within the village, organized co-operation is not conspicuous. Help is given in the form of labor not in money. There is no accounting on a reciprocity basis. At any harvest time--the rice harvest is usually the most urgent--a relative, neighbor or friend may help one day and receive the same aid on the following day. The whole village does not turn out to help each farmer in turn until the crops are in. This work is done by individuals or by very small groups. Since the nature and the amount of help is known and acknowledged, no bookkeeping is needed or desired. The closest approach to villagewide help to an individual family occurs in housebuilding. All residents of the

Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has resulted in a tendency toward slight sound shifts in the direction of Japanese phonology; this is particularly true among the bilingual speakers. The same process is operative in the Japanese of these Okinawan speakers in that there is a tendency toward Okinawan phonology. 194 177

The real strongholds of Okinawan speech today are the family and the rural areas. In an old and relatively unchanged village like Kanegusuku little Japanese is heard despite the fact that most of the villagers are bilingual. That Okinawan is the language of the family is best demonstrated by the pre-school-age children who do not speak or understand any Japanese aside from a few greetings and polite phrases. Likewise men over sixty and women over fifty-five usually cannot speak Japanese. The remainder of the village, approximately seventy percent of the total, is bilingual; however, this figure is somewhat misleading in so far as actual usage is concerned. A majority of the married women use Japanese infrequently since Okinawan is the language of their daily lives, which are largely confined to the village and home. For the men, a number of whom have seen service abroad in the Japanese forces, there is a greater freedom of movement and a wider range of contacts providing more occasion for the use of Japanese. Yet within the village many of them preferred to use Okinawan, and even the high school students were inclined to shed their Japanese on returning to the village. A number of bilingual informants ascribed this preference for Okinawan to the influence of the old people who understood Japanese imperfectly or not at all. As one informant put it, "The old people in this village just don't like being spoken to in Japanese, and if some person does this, they say he is trying to be big." Undoubtedly their influence is a strong factor, but this preference is also likely attributable to a low degree of proficiency in Japanese. Prior to the postwar period few villagers obtained more than a sixth grade education; consequently, many are not as articulate in Japanese as they are in Okinawan. It should also be noted that within the village a selective factor operates so as to perpetuate the use of Okinawan. Mention is made in another section of this report of a mayor's comment to the effect that all those who receive a good education, high school or university, soon leave the village. Thus, the very group most likely to further the spread of Japanese leaves before its influence is felt. 191 178 177 621 [871] [66]

The resentment of the oldest generation toward the use of Japanese resolves itself among the younger, bilingual generations into an attitude that Japanese imparts a certain formality to an occasion, and hence situations calling for the use of Okinawan or Japanese tend to be rather compartmentalized in their minds. Formal occasions prescribe the use of Japanese and informal ones Okinawan. Village political meetings and elections were always conducted in Japanese, and when the 'son' officials made one of their periodic inspections of the village, only Japanese was used in addressing them. On the other hand the use of Japanese at a party would be regarded as too formal and a bit unfriendly, and, of course, with old people and children only Okinawan is used. Besides the formal-informal dichotomy there exists the feeling among the better-educated bilinguals that Japanese is a modern and sophisticated language whereas Okinawan is backward and rustic. 191 829 177

There are several aspects of Okinawan culture wherein the local language is used to the exclusion of Japanese; chief among these are the theater 191 178

212 Writing Okinawa never developed an independent system of writing; in the old
197 kingdom both Japanese and Chinese were used. Literacy was largely
e829 confined to the upper classes, and it is said that students were sent to both
[579] countries for study. Apparently the literati held the Chinese language and culture in high regard while disdaining that of the Japanese; yet, Bettelheim noted in 1851 that Japanese books were very popular in spite of this contempt of the literati.[1] He also stated that the Okinawans always preferred biblical texts written in Japanese to those in Chinese. In view of the political paramouncy of Japan from 1609 and the close linguistic and cultural ties between the two peoples this popularity of Japanese is not surprising. It also should
[538] be noted that although the literati are reported as preferring Chinese to Japanese, the major literary achievements of Okinawa were written in Japanese. Thus, for example, the Omorosōshi, sixteenth century collection of songs which the late Dr. Ifa has called the Ryukyuan scriptures, was recorded in a Japanese style of writing; the same is true for the annals of the old kingdom and for the first dictionary of the Okinawan language.

212 With the advent of a Japanese administration and educational system,
197 the study of Chinese ceased, and today Japanese is used exclusively. Most Okinawan place names and family names as they are written in Japanese can be given two interpretations, the Japanese and the Okinawan; in a majority of cases the Japanese is given preference. Occasionally when Okinawan speech is transcribed as in the case of lyrics accompanying phonograph records, the Japanese syllabary is used. This is not a suitable devise for transcribing Okinawan speech, which
[114] contains many sounds unfamiliar to Japanese. Unfortunately much of the early linguistic research conducted in this area was rendered virtually worthless by the employment of this syllabary. In recent years scholars like Miyanaga and Kinjo have recorded Ryukyuan using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

197 Conclusion At the present time Okinawan speech enjoys widespread use through-
191 out the whole of the island. It is still the language of the home,
177 and as such it is a more common medium of expression than the official language,
178 Japanese. The latter, backed by the government, schools, and all the forces of modern life, is gradually supplanting Okinawan, but it would be an over-statement to say that the language is dying out. It may be expected that the majority of Okinawans will remain bilingual as they are today until such time when a whole adult generation will speak only Japanese and transmit only Japanese to its offspring.

[1] Bettelheim, n.d., p. 31.

CHAPTER III: AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, LAND USE AND DIET

F. R. Pitts

121 178 The concept of the unchanging Orient certainly fails to appear true in the case of Okinawa, when the past is examined closely. Indeed, it seems hard to find an area where so much change has been accomplished so fast. The following is designed to show some major aspects of that change, particularly insofar as the farmer is concerned.

1. Agricultural History

175 241 198 The Early Days As early as the 1730's when the great Okinawan statesman, Saion, urged the growing of the sago palm 'sotetsu', farmers were already used to orders and suggestions from the gentry as to modification of their traditional ways. But it was not until the growth of population and the money economy that changes were to be brought about, not so much by orders from above, but chiefly by the workings of economic forces.

175 177 433 249 The ultimately most effective agent of change had been the introduction of the sugar cane plant in 1623 and its concomitant technique of sugar manufacture.[1] It was not until a decade after the Japanese took over the islands, however, that sugar production began to increase, and not until after the Russo-Japanese war that sugar really became an important crop in the economy. By 1939 the production of sugar amounted to more than a million tons, and production exceeded consumption by ninefold.[2] By the end of the 1951-1952 winter pressing season, production had declined to 256,000 tons.[3]

175 62 About the time of Commodore Perry's visit the population of Okinawa had begun to grow, and new areas were settled by both commoners and the gentry. Nanahan dates its existence from this period. Of the first three families to settle here, one came from Shuri gentry, and two others were commoners from the main settlement of Tomoyose. Of the seven settlements of the village of Yamada, three were settled by commoners and one by the gentry. All had come from the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. [829] In Okinawa everyone seems to be aware of his place in history, and in the older settlements one often hears the remark, "...they are newcomers; they have been here for only two hundred years."

175 241 178 433 [177] In general the agricultural history of Okinawa falls into three periods. The first saw a self-sufficient economy, in which banana cloth was made in the village. The chief crops were millet, arrowroot, and sweet potatoes. With the introduction of a money economy, and its further intensification under the Japanese, sugar gradually turned from its previous use as a home confection to a full money crop. Rice acreage fell as more sugar was planted, and sweet potatoes found a greater place in the diet. The old crops of millet, cassava, and arrowroot were all but abandoned in Shimajiri, and became less important in the north. The third period is essentially the post-war and still continuing one, in which the growing of vegetables for the

1 Navy Handbook, p. 240.

2 CAARI, p. 156.

3 Summation of U. S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, July-November 1946, p. 25.

Two members of the SIRI team both saw bone-washings, and were both impressed by this display. The ceremony I saw consisted not only of the washing of one set of bones but the transfer of another skeleton from another tomb. While the tomb was being prepared the daughter of the man whose bones were being transferred was made to hold the skull. The sight of the teen-age girl holding her father's skull before her, hardly able to move, her lips and eyes shut tight, tears streaming down her face, is one not easily forgotten. 765

The Okinawans are curious about the funeral customs of others, sensitive about their own, and possibly dissatisfied with them. Their sensitivity is shown by the fact that after I had observed the bone-washing just mentioned, someone circulated a rumor, untrue, that I had photographed the ceremony in order to show Americans what went on. This rumor might have seriously damaged my rapport with this family and with others in the community if I had not been defended by the person who had supervised the bone-washing, the old lady mentioned at the beginning of this section. All three SIRI team members were questioned about American practices and heard statements to the effect that perhaps cremation should be adopted. Cremation does, of course, do away with the necessity for both the bone-washings and the large tombs. A crematorium is operating in Naha, but it is doubtful if the practice will spread very rapidly in the country. New tombs, bigger and better than ever, are still being built, old ones are being repaired, and the familiar method of burial and reburial goes on. The prestige attached to the larger and impressive tomb is undoubtedly a factor in the survival of the system. But there may also be psychic needs as yet unexplored that the system and in particular the emotional orgy of the bone-washing satisfies. 764 765 123 829 [554]

Offerings to the Dead After the funeral the family of the deceased makes offerings both before the tomb and before the temporary paper tablet in the home. During the first seven weeks after a death this tablet is kept on a low table with incense burning before it; relatives and neighbors make formal visits in order to burn incense, pray, and leave gifts of money. On every seventh day till the forty-ninth the family makes extra offerings, burns uchikabi (imitation paper money said to be used for paying taxes in the next world), and makes offerings before the tomb. Then the name is written on the permanent tablet. Thereafter, the family makes offerings at the tomb and at the tablets and burns uchikabi on the first, second, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversaries of the death. At the end of this time the deceased is believed to require no more individual consideration---if all the offerings up to that time have been properly made. 765 769

However, throughout each year on a number of occasions offerings are made for all the dead members of the family. These occasions are the major holidays, nearly all of which are primarily directed toward the worship of the dead. The principal of these are: 1) Lunar New Year's; 2) Shiimi, in the spring, an occasion for visiting both the tomb of the immediate family and tombs of more remote ancestors; 3) the U-machii, the 15th days of the 5th and 6th lunar months, occasions when representatives of the larger kin groups worship before the ancestral tablets at the main house; 4) U-bung, during the 7th lunar month, when all the dead are believed to return to the house. Beside these there are a number of minor holidays on which offerings are made. 769 527

up; he is made to find most of his needs satisfied by his mother and then he is told that he may be given away if he is not obedient; later he is made to believe that the spirits of his ancestors are protecting him, but when he becomes ill he is told that it is because he has not given them enough offerings. The threat in each of these instances is abandonment, being cut off from his family, because of insufficiency---disobedience or unfiliality. The fear that this threat creates does much to maintain the family system. It probably also accounts for the fear Okinawans seem to have of being alone, and their frequent use, remarked upon by several observers, of the word 'sabishii', "lonely". It may also account for their frequently expressed view of Okinawa itself as a lonely, remote, and neglected island. 152 593 [829]

Family life also provides the indiyidual with a pattern for human relationships. In the family he learns what behavior is appropriate to the status of older sibling and younger sibling, parent and child, male and female; he learns about authority, responsibility, and mutual obligation. This pattern of relationships learned in the family he reads into the larger society, and, entering the larger society he assumes the roles learned in the family. He defers to seniors; he expects juniors and females to defer to him. If he is a farmer he may expect instruction and support from the government, as a child expects it from his parents. If he is an official or a teacher he may at times deliberately speak down to the less educated and at other times deliberately speak over their heads, as a parent does with his children. 593 867

It seems that several phenomena of recent years should have weakened the old family system. The war destroyed much of the physical reminders of the past and nearly every family lost one or more of its members. The subsequent shift in population further uprooted many. The repatriation brought back people who had long been away, and with them, new ideas. The American occupation has given rural Okinawans a mobility they could not have imagined before. It has provided jobs for many of the younger people, which could mean a degree of economic independence that they could never have had otherwise. The schools have given young people of the opposite sexes more opportunity to meet on a respectable basis than they had ever had before. Yet we find families carrying on in spite of the shift in residence and the loss of important members, repatriates being reintegrated into the larger kin groups, and young people who might be independent turning their earnings over to their elders and asking their elders' permission to marry. Obviously family ties are still strong. 593 178 177

But the structure of the family may still be changing. The relationship between the behavior of individuals in the family and in the larger society is a reciprocal one. It is quite likely that the individual takes the roles that he has learned as a child in the family and plays them as an adult in the larger society, as he interprets its structure. But it is also likely that if the larger society is in a process of change, the individual may reinterpret his roles or even learn new ones to conform to the new structure. He may then go back to his family as a parent and reinterpret its structure on the basis of what he has learned. His behavior as a parent then becomes different from his father's before him. One of the professed aims of the Civil Administration on Okinawa is the democratisation of Okinawan society. [185]

625 high esprit. A policeman's salary is high when compared to that of other government workers and the general public; in addition the job has other advantages such as a uniform and free transportation on public conveyances.

621 625 In rural areas there seems to be some resentment over what is considered to be high pay and special privileges for policemen; this was particularly true where the local policeman was not a native son. In one of the more isolated villages of northern Okinawa, a community which is noted for and prides itself on its strong community spirit, there was some irritation with what they felt to be an unnecessary presence of a policeman (not native to the village) in their midst. The village 'kuchō' and several villagers assured the author that the village was a most peaceful one, everyone cooperated well together, and there was never any stealing or violence. They were also resentful of the fact that the village supplied the policeman with free food and charcoal and that his pay, nevertheless, was about equal to that of their highly respected school principal.

875 625 554 It should be noted that whenever the low pay of teachers was mentioned the correspondingly high pay of the police was cited. The teacher traditionally has been venerated in this culture, and it is held that the teacher is a better-educated person and should, therefore, receive a higher salary, as was the case before the war. In the past the higher positions in the bureaucracy were accorded or ideally should be accorded those with better educations, and since both the policeman and the teacher are civil government employees, the present situation with regard to their respective salaries seems unjust.

625 829 Most people express the belief that the police are honest and conscientious though their high pay may be resented. A number of people observed that the police are much better under the American military administration than they were under the Japanese government before the war, in that they are more polite and less officious today. Under present laws the powers of the police have been clearly defined to insure that they will not violate the rights of individuals as was frequently done in the past. Not a few Okinawans will contend that this curbing of police power while probably democratic has encouraged an increase in crime in recent years. The traditional attitude toward the policeman seems to be a mixture of fear and respect, and mothers frequently use the threat to call a policeman as a means of disciplining a child who misbehaves.

4. Political Participation by Women

562 [666] Since the end of the war universal suffrage has been introduced into Okinawan political life. The enfranchisement of women has not brought with it a surge of political activity on their part. It is now theoretically possible for a woman to hold public office, but in actuality none to date has been elected to a national or municipal office. One woman declared herself a candidate for the Ryukyuan legislature in 1954 but later withdrew from the campaign shortly before election time. In the rural areas political participation by women is even more limited. The men in the village of Kanegusuku laugh when the subject of women in politics is mentioned; they say

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them.

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men.

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households.

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy

621 among its membership, and all relationships are highly structured. Though
592 age-grades tend to structure the membership of the community, this is not
[361] too important, as the basic unit within the village is the family, not the individual. The community is regarded as an association of families
[345] bound together in a relationship of equality. Such differences as exist
178 in wealth and land holdings are not so great as to constitute class differentiation; likewise the old Okinawan class structure is no longer of any real significance, and in most rural communities the bulk of the families were and still are of commoner descent.

621 The concept of political participation by households is basic to
• 829 the thinking of the villagers. Universal suffrage applies only to municipal and national elections; within the village active political partici-
592 pation is restricted to household heads functioning in the capacity of
666 representatives for their respective families. When the mayor of one village was asked why all adults were not allowed to vote in village elections, his quick reply was, "Is it democracy to give some families more votes merely because they have more members?"

6. Political Leadership and Authority

621 There are nine important political offices within the village of Kanegusuku (population 507)---mayor, assistant mayor, clerk, 4 councillors,
[592] and 2 'son' assemblymen. Eighteen of the 108 village families are headed by women, and since only male household heads are elected to positions of political leadership, there remain 90 men eligible for these offices. A number of the young household heads also must be excluded from this group since a man must be over twenty-seven to be eligible, and there are others who are too old or infirm. This leaves 72 men eligible for office on the basis of the formal requirements.

621 Actually the villagers apply several other qualifications which one
554 must possess in order to be eligible for office. In practice the repatriates and the other newcomers to the village since the end of the war are not elected. Those who are poor (less than enough land for mere subsistence) cannot afford to accept an office, since the pay is low and the demands on one's time are too great. The men who have non-agricultural jobs which take them outside the village each day also do not have the time to devote, and the villagers tend to feel that these men are out of touch with the problems of a farming village. Lastly there are several men who otherwise meet all qualifications for village office save for what the villagers vaguely describe as "good character"; the most frequently cited example for this group is a man who dislikes farming and spends much of his time drinking or visiting the 'pachinko' parlor in a nearby town. Thus, the total number qualified for political office on the basis of all criteria which are applied is limited to approximately 47 individuals; this group, which constitutes about 9% of the total population, supplies the village leadership and forms the core of the body politic.

All village officials (excluding 'kumichō') held more land than the average, but the size of their holdings was not so great as to indicate that this was a very significant factor. It was stated that a leader must have sufficient experience and education to enable him to handle the necessary records and to make a good appearance at the village office. Most frequently, however, "good character" was cited as a most necessary prerequisite for an official; this was usually equated with "honest person" and "hard worker". Though the villagers stated that the age range of officials might lie between 28 and 55, the present village leaders are men in their forties. The man considered by a number of villagers to be their most able and influential political leader is forty-seven years old. In contrast the four 'kumichō' are young men ranging in age from 18 to 23, and only one of these is a household head. 621 554

Above the village level in the 'son' (township) government one encounters the professional administrator or bureaucrat----mayor, assistant, treasurer, and department heads. These men, in sharp contrast to the village officials, have an educational background including at least high school and more usually some college, normal school, or other type of advanced training. One gets the impression that they are strongly aware of their personal superiority; their attitude toward the governed is somewhat condescending and at best rather paternalistic. It is doubtful that they regard themselves as public servants although those whom the author encountered appeared to be conscientiously dedicated to their jobs. Of these officials only the mayor is elected; the others are appointed by him with the approval of the township assembly. 632 554

Most people are respectful toward their village officials, recognizing them to be among the ablest men in the community, but they most certainly are not in awe of them. Except for the two representatives to the 'son' assembly, new officials are elected every year, and it is very rare for a man to hold the same office for two consecutive years. No one person remains in a given office long enough to become identified with it or to achieve a special status. 621 554

The officials of the township office are usually professional government workers who have held their positions for a number of years. The villagers look up to them as administrators and superior persons; the mere fact that one has an official position confers a superior status. Some people expressed the belief that officials are good since only persons of education and good character could possibly attain such positions, and nearly all are of the opinion that officials enjoy an easy life and high pay. 632 554

Most rural villagers seem pessimistic about their relationship to the government; they are not mistrustful but rather they expect little. They strongly feel that the government is something from afar and wholly out of touch with their problems. This attitude may carry over from the old kingdom when an urban upper class administered a rural peasantry; the subsequent Japanese administration during its early years consisted of little more than the replacement of one ruling class with another. Nonetheless the government is looked to for aid and direction since it is 829

829 considered the initiator of all action. Frequently there are complaints of high taxes, criticisms of certain policies, and dissatisfaction with certain officials, but the authority of a government to undertake any course it chooses would never be challenged. There does not exist any concept of a limit to obedience or to the powers of government.

7. Social Control

626 621 The mechanisms of social control within an Okinawan village are not easily observed or studied since they are so rarely overt. One is impressed from the outset by the homogeneous character of the community, a natural outcome of the common experience and cultural heritage which all the members have shared. The average villager has had a limited range of contacts during the course of his or her lifetime, imposed to no small degree by the all-consuming demands of subsistence agriculture. Minorities within [183] the community rarely exist, and where they do, they are not recognized as such, for this homegeneity, in addition to being an actuality, is insisted upon as a cultural ideal. Consequently great stress is placed on presenting a united front to the outside. Within the community aggressive behavior is not tolerated and so great is the fear of rift through discord that few official acts are initiated without first securing informal concordance; consequently, formal political meetings are most often marked by unanimity and agreement. In enlisting the support of the villagers for a given project or proposed line of action leaders most frequently appeal to group solidarity, stressing the values of cooperation.

As is so often found in small communities where all the members have a face-to-face relationship, the chief mechanisms of social sanction are ridicule, censure, and the threat of ostracism. The small size and homogeneous nature of the Okinawan village limits the individual's behavior to a rather narrow and inflexible standard. The individual, however, must consider his actions not only in terms of the reactions of others to him but also in terms of the consequences for his family. Under the old kingdom the family was legally responsible for the actions of its members, and [672] [178] at the present time an individual is officially registered as a member of a certain family and is always thought of by the villagers in association 626 with that family. One's mistakes as well as one's achievements reflect upon 621 the other members of the family and are shared by them. This emphasis on 181 family and community over the individual serves markedly to curb individualism and to further the homogeneity of the society. Conformity and honoring one's obligations are the major cultural values. The surrogate for this strong cultural deemphasis of the individual is provided by a close ego identity with the family and community and by the security which they offer in return. The severest sanction which can be applied is expulsion of the individual from his group.

8. Local Autonomy

642 621 On a small island with a highly centralized government there is little room for local autonomy. Most action is initiated in the higher echelons of government and is unquestioningly obeyed at the lower levels. There

is no concept of a division of powers, and in final analysis the village is subject to the bidding of the township which in turn is under the direction of the central government. Nevertheless, the physical and mental isolation of the village from the township and central government does afford some measure of self-government, and a number of problems of specifically local concern are solved at the village level. 642 621

One finds that the villagers are not eager for a greater measure of self-government; in fact, quite the contrary seems true. In several villages the author was told that since the war the villages have been allowed a greater measure of self-rule and that they now have more to do with less aid and direction than ever before. They feel that this has resulted in greater demands on their time and finances than they can afford. 621 829

Village office is regarded as an onerous duty which one assumes in a sense of obligation. The remuneration is very low, and not a few are disinclined to participate in any active role. In December of 1953 there were three elections for village clerk in Kanegusuku before the office was filled; one of those elected stalked off in a fury and refused to return and accept the position. The mayor, who was much irritated by the man's action and the inconvenience it caused, assured the author that it was much better before the war when he had had the power to appoint someone and could not be refused.

[Koohinda-son]

The husband sought military employment after the divorce. Haru has now also gone to the city to find military employment because her younger brother, who is household head, became angry and said, "...even the animals know enough to suckle their young." An observer commented, "Haru is mentally deficient, so that is why she was jealous." 586 159

Case 2

Kanā at the age of 32 was Chūsei's third wife, and he was her fourth husband. His seventy-year-old mother, Ushii, had become blind as a result of the war. Kanā insulted her mother-in-law somehow. In turn Ushii insulted Kanā by saying she couldn't work very hard. Chūsei divorced Kanā for the quarrel, and she moved to an offshore island. More recently she remarried to a man two villages away, and they have two children. Her new husband fishes during the summer and works for a big sugar mill during the winter.

Case 3

The husband, Jirō, was a second son of 23 years, who had become an adopted husband, or 'yōshi'. His wife Yae, who was a common law child, bore him a son. Because he violently disliked farming he sold the land he inherited and bought a mat-making shop in Naha. His real father, killed in the war, had operated such a business. Jirō also took up a concubine in Naha.

Though she had borne Jirō a son, Yae divorced him because she didn't like the idea of a concubine, and preferred farming to life in Naha. Later Jirō sold the houselot in the village, took the house apart and reassembled it in Naha. The mat shop failed after one year. He now plans to make his living by doing nothing but renting out rooms. He married his concubine eighteen months later, after she bore him a son. Yae married a few days after the divorce, to a man from a neighboring village. She now has two sons.

Diagnosis In the first case cited above, we can see several factors that help us to understand Okinawan society. Attitudes expressed include: [593]

a) A wife should not be jealous of her husband's attention to other women;
b) A brother need not support his sister if she refuses to care for her own child; and
c) A mother's first duty is to care for her own child.

Both divorced persons eventually sought military employment. So we see that urbanization is not alone a matter of pull from the city, but contains in addition an element of being "pushed from the village". [369]

The Chūsei-Kanā divorce was brought on by an insult to the husband's mother. In Okinawa as in Japan the mother-in-law wields a good deal of authority. [606] [171]

In the third case cited, it was found that Jirō had a very bad reputation in the village because he was a 'yōshi' who sold his inherited [829]

[Kochinda-son]

586 159 829 property. After that action he was called by the villagers "white ant", or "termite". From the beginning, community feeling was behind Yae and opposed to him. Circumstances of her birth carried little stigma, but his actions outraged everyone. People thought it quite natural that she should live with another man and bear his child before Jirō formally recorded the divorce in the 'koseki'. As far as the villagers were concerned, the divorce had become effective when Jirō sold his inheritance.

161 3. A Note on the Accuracy of Population Statistics in Okinawa

Much conflicting population data were encountered by the SIRI team. Hence this note is included as being of possible value to military government and to other social scientists who may work in Okinawa at a later date.

Census Figures Year-end census figures, which are based upon de facto count rather than de jure count are the most accurate, since they include all persons actually resident in the village at the time, as well as 'museki', or persons without an official local 'koseki' record.

Many times these census figures are supplemented by figures reporting both the above and all persons visiting in the village or town at the date of census. These "visitors" may include students, peddlers, guests at inns, persons in institutions, and persons visiting friends or relatives. A few examples from the 1953 statistics report of GRI are given below:

Table XXVII

Political Unit	Koseki Population	Resident Population	De Facto Population
Okinawa Guntō	649,997	627,556	637,215
Shuri-shi	22,372	21,921	23,015
Nago-chō	17,067	16,955	17,255
Goeku-son	21,065	20,931	20,749
Kochinda-son	8,738	8,504	-not given-

161 641 The Museki People 'Museki' is a term applied to single individuals or families who are not registered in the political unit where they are living. They may maintain with varying degrees of attention and accuracy a 'koseki' elsewhere. Some simply may have no registration in a 'koseki' anywhere due to a semi-wandering life or a criminal bent. These latter are said to have no legal rights. "How can anyone have rights unless he has a 'koseki'?"

161 621 Ad Hoc Counts Persons who wish an accurate count of the people in any village are advised to consult directly with the village headman, or 'kuchō', rather than with the 'son' office. He is in constant daily touch with village affairs, and is the most knowledgeable man to contact about village matters. Figures given by a 'kuchō', usually are the most accurate for total number of people in the village at any given time. 'Museki' persons are included, but those who are legally residents of the village and living elsewhere are not included.

'Koseki' Changes The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. 161 217
In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanahan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures.

'Koseki' Inaccuracies The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in order to bring about a change in their luck. [777]

Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved elsewhere. 217 162 592

Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made. [369] [829]

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

The New 'Koseki' Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies 217 [648]

to take registration seriously until conditions are more stable. The Central Land Office in Naha appears to be almost wholly out of touch with local changes; for example, the extensive land changes subsequently described for Kitazato did not appear to be known or recorded on the maps in that office. 423 647

Taxation of farm lands is a very complex matter. Land assessments are made by the district land office in conjunction with village leaders; consequently, there is not only some variation in grading from 'son' to 'son' but also from village to village within the same 'son'. All land is divided into six categories: 1) rice lands or irrigated fields, 2) farm land or dry fields, 3) grass land or meadow (often erroneously translated as wasteland), 4) forest, 5) house or building land, and 6) miscellaneous, including graves, ponds, etc. It will be noted that only the first two categories are food-producing. The first five categories are sub-divided into grades depending on a variety of factors such as fertility, accessibility, availability of water, etc. In Kami Motobu-son there are sixteen grades of land within the five graded categories; thus, there are five grades of rice land, five grades of dry field, two grades of grass land, two grades of forest land, and two grades of house land. The tax is computed by the tax rate per grade of category times the area in 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre). In Kami Motobu-son grade one dry fields carry an annual tax of 15 'sen' per tsubo; therefore, at current exchange rates (¥120 equal $1.00) a house would pay a tax of $1.53 (¥183.60) for an acre of this grade one land. 651 423

In regard to the matter of property inheritance there is some dissatisfaction with the present laws on the part of educated Okinawans. They feel that the new Japanese constitution adopted during the American Occupation should also be enacted for the Ryukyus. The constitutional reform which took place in Japan after the war did not apply to the Ryukyus; consequently, Okinawa still operates under the old Japanese civil code except for certain gross inequities which have been corrected by military government proclamation. The new Japanese law holds that all children, regardless of sex or birth order, are entitled to an equal share of the parents' estate. In contrast, the old law, which still obtains on Okinawa, grants the bulk of the estate to the first-born son. Under this law property in reality is held for the family by the first son or household head; it is not his to dispose of as he sees fit. Educated Okinawans who discussed this subject with the author expressed the opinion that the old law was undemocratic in giving emphasis to the family over the individual, and they felt that Okinawa should keep pace with Japan in this respect. It should be emphasized, however, that these persons were not farmers; the latter, most of whom are not too well educated, tend to regard the present laws as just, since the emphasis is on preserving the continuity of the family. A further subdivision of the typical Okinawan farm into still more fragmented plots would do little to improve the prosperity of the rural areas. 428 829 [642] [423] 428 829 184

[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from
[463] one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
[476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks, and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
463 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
241 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupation. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more, though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
[178] occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers.

241 829 554 463 [171]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances.

621 [727] 121 621 [124]

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name.

175 621

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village.

175 621 727 [464] [735]

[Kitazato]

175 621 727 It is said that the division of the village cut across family lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus, Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 621 [24] [134] [235] [139] The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export to Japan provided an additional source of income.

[360] Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kitazato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose grouping in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 311 727 [134] Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34% of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction (sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148 'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku, Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

Kanegusuku	---	1514.2 'tsubo'
Okinawa	---	1037.2 'tsubo' (per farm household)
Kitazato	---	148.7 'tsubo'

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 829 727 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

[Kitazato]

is paying adequate rentals for lands used in Japan, and it is their contention that Okinawa is being discriminated against because she is weak. Because of this some wish that Japan were back in control, believing that their interests would be better served. One hears no comments on the presence of Americans in the islands or on the legality of building bases there, for they concede that the outcome of the war granted that; yet, they are bitter about the loss of their livelihood and what they feel to be neglect on the part of the military government. Long accustomed to a paternalistic government which directed many aspects of their lives, they are now at a loss to understand this seeming indifference to their present circumstances. They are completely unmoved by argument, which might seem logical to an American, that Congress has not appropriated sufficient funds, for they do not distinguish between the various divisions of American government---it is all American to them. They point to the high standard of living enjoyed by the American personnel and their families stationed on the island and make the inference that there seems to be no lack of funds for their needs.

The villagers say that they have received three payments from military government through May, 1954. The first of these paid for the cost of removing and rebuilding their homes. This amounted to a flat payment of ¥6000 ($50) per house, which they say was inadequate. The first of the land payments was made in June of 1953; the villagers assert that they were paid at pre-war rates, and one person who owned 5480 'tsubo' described the payment as a "laugh". The second payment for the use of their lands was made in May, 1954, while the author was studying the village. This time the payments were said to be substantially higher especially in certain categories; yet, they contend that payments are still far below current rentals. In this payment, ¥5.40 per 'tsubo' per year was paid for grade one house lots, but in Kijikina the owner of one house claimed that he paid ¥24 per 'tsubo' per year for rental on his house lot. Grade one dry fields were paid for by the military government at a rate of ¥3 per 'tsubo' per year; the farmers say that they can get about ¥60 per 'tsubo' in annual yield if this land is planted in beans or potatoes, and local rentals on this same type of land are about ¥15. They are angry at receiving but ¥3 for their land and having to pay ¥15 to rent equivalent land. They are also dissatisfied with the manner of payment for grass land and tomb land which are paid for by the plot regardless of size; thus, they say that the person who has two small plots of 10 'tsubo' each receives twice as much as the man who owns a single, larger 100 'tsubo' plot.

Effect of the Land Loss on the Village: Physical Appearance On first entering any one of the three segments of Kitazato one is struck almost immediately by a level of poverty considerably below that of other Okinawan villages. This is particularly true of Hama, whose houses are jammed tightly together on a treeless beach. Most of the houses consist of a single room which serves as living and sleeping quarters; a small lean-to kitchen is attached on the side. The floor space of the houses was considerably smaller than those of Kanegusuku. Several brackish wells supply the community with water. The Anahana and Kijikina settlements in the hills have a more attractive appearance due to a large number of young pine trees and a small stream in the area, giving a park-like atmosphere; however,

511
621 [Kitazato]
735 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
[342] lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[184] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that village; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best. Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
262 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans, and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 54 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

621 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
● 829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility.
[123] Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

[Kitazato]

somewhat appalled by what they regard as a lack of concern on the part of Americans for their plight. As they have been long accustomed to a paternalistic government, this seems to be a deliberately negligent attitude, and they express this feeling not infrequently. The following statements were heard by the author, "We never see any Americans who come to inspect or look at things" and "No Americans ever come to see how we are." 621 829

National Organizations National organizations such as the youth association and the women's association are rather weak in Kitazato when compared with Kanegusuku. They say that they have little spare time for such organizations, which is undoubtedly true, and the scattered nature of the village makes meeting a chore for some in the outlying sections. The ranks of the youth association are thinned by the loss of members who have sought employment in the city or military camps. Even the agricultural association is not as active as elsewhere, since the farmers feel that little can be done to improve their situation. The farmers and the head of the 'son' agricultural office were disgusted by the stupidity of a plan tendered by the central agricultural office to relieve the distress of Kitazato and other dispossessed farmers in Kami Motobu-son. This plan called for the planting of sugar cane as a cash crop and the use of the proceeds to buy food. It failed to take into consideration that sugar takes a long time to mature and that the people would have nothing to eat in the interim, and even if they were to plant their entire holdings in sugar, it would not bring enough cash to feed them. 621 575 621 829 242 241

Village Solidarity Village solidarity seems very high in Kitazato, much higher than in Kanegusuku. Undoubtedly this is largely due to the common problem which faces them all; nevertheless several other factors appear to be involved. The gentry origin of Kitazato kept it aloof from its immediate neighbors for many years, and apparently no real contacts were established in neighboring villages until after the annexation. Even today the people of this village speak a dialect markedly distinct from that of their nearest neighbors; thus, the upper-class origin and the physical and linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps contributed much to its integration and solidarity. The relative weakness of kin groupings seems to be another factor. In Kanegusuku one gets the impression that the strength of the lineages mitigates against informal village-wide cooperation and only through formal organizations such as the youth association is any real village-wide cooperation realized. In Kitazato the weak kin groupings seem no obstacle to this. 621 186 [197]

It seemed to the author that the people of Kitazato never tired of reiterating how well they cooperated together and how much they enjoyed working together as a village. "We want to stay together as a village, as we cooperate so well together." This is typical of the statements which were made. Many say that they would not object to emigration provided they might emigrate as a village.

Land Rentals Two serious problems face the people of Kitazato in regard to renting the land of neighboring villages. They are unable to pay 621 427

[Kitazato]

621 for the lands which they rent, since they have no cash; and they feel that
427 the amount of rent in product from their low yield soils is too great to justify the expenditure of labor. Several other villages in the area lost land to the airfield, so that there is very little land available for rental today. The land which they have rented is of a poor quality, and, consequently, yields are very low. A few fortunate ones have had relatives in neighboring villages who have supplied them with land at a low rental; several who have brothers in neighboring villages have been given free use of some lands. These, however, constitute a small portion of the total village.

628 Neighboring villagers who were interviewed expressed their sympathy for Kitazato's loss of its livelihood. They state that relations between them are good.

621 Morale The villagers are in a low state of morale, and they fre-
829 quently express the opinion that their situation is hopeless. The young people see no future in remaining in the village and are anxious to leave as soon as they are able. Older adults cannot conceive of leaving the village; yet, they are depressed by their circumstances. A number of the middle-aged men remarked that it was too late for them to learn another occupation even if they could get away. The older people particularly mourn the loss of their village: "Our village was beautiful, and we loved it," and "Our land is hopeless now; we cry in our minds just to look at it." All age groups were heard to express statements such as, "Each year things are worse," and "We are slowly starving to death." One informant told the author that he believed someone had been stealing potatoes from his field.

The head of the local agricultural office believes that the village should be brought together again as a single community on the site of the old village near the airfield and that they should be given permission to farm the unused land contiguous to the field. In this way, he feels, they might be able to pull themselves together and start rebuilding anew. He is worried that the people will become so demoralized by their present state as to become slothful, and he is of the opinion that the people cannot continue much longer in their present state.

Outlook for the Future The people of Kitazato are uneasy and pessimistic about their future, and the local 'son' officials, political and agricultural, feel that the villagers cannot long continue in their
621 state of poverty and borderline starvation. It seems to the author that the future holds but three possibilities for them---continued endurance of their present situation, emigration, or an increase in the rent paid for the use of their land.

Without an improvement in their present circumstances, ultimate
433 starvation would seem the only possibility; the figures on land holdings alone will validate that, for ten acres will not provide subsistence for over four hundred no matter how intensive the agricultural techniques. There does not appear sufficient land available for rental with which they might supplement their meager holdings. Many villagers are too poor to cut loose from the wretched plots they farm; it takes cash to move and set up

[Kitazato]

elsewhere, and this they do not have. Others are too timid or feel themselves untrained and incapable of learning a new job elsewhere. This is especially true of the middle-aged men who are supporting aged parents and/or young children; to cut loose from the village and leave his land seems too great a risk for one who has the burden of family support, little education, and no training for any other pursuit. At least in his village, he feels, there are friends, relatives, and others like him sharing common problems. Likewise, seeking employment as an agricultural laborer in other communities would bring in little return; such work is usually taken by young, unmarried men men who have not yet established themselves. Perhaps with government loans and encouragement most of the families might be resettled in other Okinawan farming villages, but there is strong resistance toward any suggestions or moves which would lead to a breakup and scattering of the village. It should be emphasized, however, that this is the feeling of those members of the village who are above 35 to 40 years of age and who have family responsibilities. The young do not share this sentiment for village solidarity, and they are most eager to leave the village once their schooling is completed. A few who have succeeded in establishing themselves in the city have sent for their parents or have regularly sent money to them, but often the rewards of city or military employment are not sufficient to permit this, or they marry and have the problems of their immediate family to think about. 621

The strong desire to remain together as a village is expressed whenever the question of emigration is raised. For example, about four or five young men in the village have expressed a willingness to emigrate to South America. Several South American countries have sought Okinawan settlers; however, they want young people capable of making a contribution to the economy; oldsters are not sought. In most cases this means a breakup of the family, leaving the older people behind on Okinawa until the emigrants have saved sufficient money to send for them. In most cases they would be without support in the absence of the children. Those who have expressed an interest in emigrating as individuals have been subject to some criticism; however, the villagers would be willing to emigrate to South America provided they were allowed to emigrate as a village. In fact, the majority of villagers appear willing to emigrate to South America, the South Seas, or even to Yaeyama in that order of preference. The latter island, despite numerous press campaigns extolling its virtues, holds little appeal for Okinawans. It is considered a dangerous place subject to many typhoons and diseases, and the Japanese government tried for many years to encourage Okinawan settlement there with little more success than that achieved by the military government. The people of Kitazato, however, say that they would resettle in Yaeyama provided the government helped them and allowed them to resettle as a village; or they would not be averse to resettlement elsewhere on Okinawa under the same conditions. In all cases it is their strongest desire to remain together as a village and to be given aid in reestablishing themselves. 621 829

Lastly they would prefer most of all that they be paid adequate rentals in term of current land rentals for their land which has been used for the airfield. Adequate rentals would enable each family to determine the course of its own future without any interference from the government.

[Kitazato]

621 If this were done, many villagers state that they would prefer to remain in
829 the area. They would try to rent more land from neighboring villages, and they would be looking forward to the day when they might start life anew on the old village site. The younger generation does not share this nostalgia and this desire to recreate the old village; they feel that adequate rentals would provide the means for establishing themselves elsewhere. In time, one suspects, the older people would follow them.

759 757 [278] The yabuu also prescribe herbal remedies. They do not, however, prepare their medicines, but rather instruct the patient how to gather and prepare the plants for use. The act of preparing one's own medicine may thus have a magical value. Yabuu also prescribe the eating of certain parts of certain animals for their good influence on the corresponding parts of the human body. Dogs and cats are among the animals so used. (This practice may be the source of the belief widespread among Americans on Okinawa that the Okinawans eat dogs; they do, on rare occasions, but not as food, merely as medicine.)

759 Short-cut Systems Standing somewhere between the yabuu and the modern doctor are several types of practitioners who give treatments with heat, light, steam, etc. as all-purpose cures. One man was observed to use a tube in which he burned a substance, probably moxa, while he moved it over the patient's body. His system seemed to be the moxibustion of the yabuu dressed up with "scientific" gadgets. He was described by a friend as "half-doctor half-yabuu", a description that was meant to elicit a favorable response since it implies that he possesses the efficacy of both.

759 278 [164] In addition to these full-time professionals on the fringes of medicine, there are also a number of part-time penicillin-shooters, who are particularly active in areas frequented by American personnel, where they are in demand for the treatment of venereal disease. Penicillin is sold freely and in quantity, perhaps because of the prevalence of venereal disease, and has become a very popular treatment even for very minor infections. Hormone shots also seem to be widely used by untrained persons.

759 [177] Modern Medicine There are of course modern Japanese-trained doctors on Okinawa. But they are relatively few in number, about one for every 3,900 persons.[1] Trained nurses and medical facilities are also too few and too little. But even if there were more doctors and more facilities, it is doubtful that the ordinary Okinawan would make more use of them.

759 753 829 [584] Medical doctors have a high status in Okinawan society. They are admired and respected. Parents frequently express the wish that a son might grow up to become a doctor. But the advice of the doctor is not always heeded. The respect may be more for his education and the social position it gives him than for his professional opinion. In the matter of illness the advice that the ordinary Okinawan respects is more likely to be that of the older members of his own family and of the familiar yuta, sanjinsoo, and yabuu, for this advice is given in terms of insufficiency of worship, soul-loss, and the influence of the twelve-year-cycle. These are concepts that are familiar to him and have an integration with other beliefs, which the concepts dealt with by the doctor do not have. The doctor's very disregard of the supernatural runs counter to the feelings of the

1 CAARI, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 52 gives 120 practicing physicians for Okinawa plus 50 working for GRI. Japan has about one for every 1300 persons; Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, gives 63,273 (p. 432) and the total population as 80,216,896 (p. 12).

ordinary Okinawan. Besides, the doctor's interpretation of illness and its cause is more likely to put the responsibility for it on the shoulders of the individual, whereas the traditional interpretation makes the individual less responsible. This, I suspect, is likely to make the doctor's interpretation less popular. Also the treatment received from the native practitioners is familiar and predictable, while the doctor's methods vary more greatly with the nature of the illness, as do his fees.

Another factor contributing to the tendency not to go to the medical doctor may be the very respect in which he is held socially. I have already suggested that in the fields of religion and politics Okinawans try to solve problems at the local level without appealing to higher authorities. This may also be true in dealing with illness. The relations between patient and doctor are certainly of a more formal sort than those between patient and yuta or yabuu. And around the relationship between patient and doctor there have grown up customs that may make the patient hesitate before entering a doctor's care. For example, a patient who is discharged from a hospital after a successful surgical operation (this may not be true of the largest and most modern hospitals) is expected to show his gratitude by giving a 'Tai-in no O-iwai' ("Leaving the Hospital Celebration") on the day of his departure. For this he hires a yuta or some appropriate person to pray for him, he gives gifts to the doctor and the nurses who attended him, and distributes holiday cakes to the other patients. If this is done in style it may cost the patient nearly as much as the operation itself.

5. Prospect of Change

Earlier in this chapter I suggested that Okinawan standards of sanitation might be raised by appealing to individual family pride in appearances. The sphere of sanitation might be pushed out of the house and across the yard by increasing the family's feeling of identification with it. An esthetic appeal might also be made. Okinawans are certainly not insensitive to beauty, and many do have little patches of flowers beside these houses. Standards could also be raised by encouraging more community endeavors. There seem to be a much greater need for this in the city than in the country, where long-established patterns of cooperation in agricultural practices, house-building, etc., exist. It is my impression that in the cities the 'han' or some even smaller unit could be used more effectively in keeping yards and streets clean and drained. It must be remembered that what is needed is constant cleanliness, not merely the sort of holiday cleanliness that comes with periodic inspection. It must also be stressed that the reasons for unsanitary conditions are part of a vicious circle. Filth leads to a high rate of infection from disease and parasites, this leads to diminishing energy and greater poverty, and these in turn cause more unsanitary conditions.

But improving sanitation will probably be rather easy compared to the problem of changing Okinawan attitudes toward disease. In talking with Okinawans, it was in comparing Okinawan and American treatment of disease

3: Pitts et al. E,K-5 (1953-1954) 1955 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CHAPTER XI: CULTURE CHANGE IN RURAL OKINAWA

W. P. Lebra

Within a span of less than fifty years Okinawa has been twice subjected to periods of accelerated culture change. The first began in 1899 when the Japanese administration abolished the system of communal land ownership and taxation then extant in the rural areas and introduced private ownership. Land reform was followed by modernization of the government and the establishment of compulsory education. A second period of rapid change began in World War II with the American invasion and the establishment of military government.

The Japanese Impact (1879-1945) During the first twenty years of Japanese administration relatively few changes were introduced, but beginning with the land reform of 1899-1903 there followed a series of changes which completely altered the fabric of Okinawan society. The policies of the Japanese administration and the results of the long period of close contact with Japanese culture effected the conversion of Okinawans into Japanese nationals, destruction of the self-sufficiency of the rural village, modernization of government, weakening of the kin group, and greater participation in national life.

The transformation of Okinawans into Japanese nationals was accomplished through the establishment of a national school system which indoctrinated the students with the language and culture of Japan. Official Japanese policy aimed at the eradication of Okinawan culture; this was carried out through the schools and by means of repressive laws, police measures, and the practice of discrediting things Okinawan. Although there was some Okinawan reaction to this discrimination, the government was ultimately successful in creating a favorable response to Japanese culture. Its accomplishment was largely due to the close affinity of the Japanese and Okinawans. The linguistic and cultural resemblances between the two are so close as to make their differences bridgeable. A wider gulf might have produced antipathy, but instead the superior civilization of the Japanese came to be regarded as worthy of emulation.

The Japanese did discriminate against Okinawan culture, but as an alternative they offered, in theory at least, equal participation in their own culture. The process of assimilation was greatly facilitated by the cultural indoctrination of the schools; each successive generation came to feel and act more Japanese than the previous one. Okinawan culture was not eradicated, as the space of time was too short, but its creativity was reduced. An important factor in aiding the acceptance of Japanese culture was that the ideas and technology of the modern world came to Okinawa through Japan; hence, much of what was of foreign origin was accepted by the Okinawans as Japanese.

An important aspect of the change which came about under the Japanese administration was the realization for the average individual of a greater participation in the social and political life of the country. The mental

The mental
isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as providers of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abolished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and subsidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self-sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, utensils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weakening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amalgamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed virtually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

727 Much of the civilian population was herded into internment camps early in the campaign, and many remained there for over a year. The people were so scattered about the land that today nearly every village has a number of families new since the war. The effects of the destruction, loss of life, and displacement were far-reaching---families were shattered, whole villages were moved, fields were ruined, countless homes and buildings were demolished, and the records of government were lost or destroyed. In short, the land was laid waste and its people impoverished.

The effect on the people is best summarized by two frequently-heard statements: "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more," and, "After the war everyone was equal."

177 727 Okinawa's small area, large population, and the sizable number of Americans proportionate to that population put the two peoples in close proximity to one another. Certainly the mere presence of foreign troops and their military administration has far-reaching implications in terms of culture change. This close proximity, however, might be easily exaggerated in so far as actual interaction is concerned. The social and cultural barriers separating American and Okinawan have been so great as to preclude large scale interactions, and, consequently, actual change which might result from this interaction has not been as great as might be expected.

177 829 In contrast to the Japanese administration the American military government has not been culturally repressive with regard to Okinawans. Quite likely the Okinawan does not feel as embarrassed or defensive about his culture before an American as he did before a Japanese. The important factor, however, is that the Japanese held out cultural assimilation and equality in their own culture as an alternative to the Okinawan. As the differences were not too great, the Okinawan came to think of himself as Japanese. On the other hand, the difference between the American and Okinawan is so great as to make assimilation most difficult, even if both parties desired it, which they do not. Consequently, though Japanese political control is no longer exercised, Japanese culture is admired as much as ever. The close cultural and racial ties between the two peoples and the continuance of what is essentially a Japanese education in the schools have done much to perpetuate this.

Okinawans greatly admire the wealth and technology of the Americans, but American social, political, and ethical-religious beliefs and practices, which are not so easily observed, have not made any real impression. Precisely because American wealth and technology are so superior to their own, they conceive of Americans as a people addicted to material things. They are not at all convinced that American social institutions are superior to theirs.

177 727 178 Despite undoubted good intentions, the legislation and proclamations enacted by the military government have had but slight effect on the social system. It is one thing to liberalize laws on police powers, suffrage, and human rights, and quite another to have them carried out in the spirit that was intended. The men of the farm village acknowledge that women may hold [54] public office according to the law but say that they (the men) will never permit this to happen. In most cases a potentiality for change has been noted rather than an actual change; it remains to be seen whether acceptance will ultimately occur.

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly apparent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settlements. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop. 178 361 [443]

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of construction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure. When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the prewar period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that which is most frequently built. 178 342 [171]

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American influence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residential buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is regarded as a temporary device. [177]

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from Japanese and American magazines. 177 178 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains considerable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets; old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed in use as a clothes pole. 177 351

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped markedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence, Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the machinery employed, and replacement has never been made. 177 178 433 28 [329] [727]

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [191] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 877 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [64]

where they are observed there are generally few participants. Also many ceremonies have lost all meaning save that of custom, which is considered sufficient reason for their observance. 796 178

The authors heard dissatisfaction expressed with regard to current funeral practices. At one bone-washing ceremony witnessed by the author, several of the men stated that the practice was pointless and should therefore cease. Statements favorable to the Japanese practice of cremation were frequently heard. 764 765 829

Urbanization Prior to Japanese annexation there existed a sharp urban-rural dichotomy in Okinawan culture. This might best be characterized as a rural peasantry and an urban gentry-nobility. The latter group was in contact with Japan and China and was literate, while the former was divided into many small, isolated villages, lived in a state of serfdom, and was largely uneducated. The urban culture was strongly influenced by its foreign contacts, but in the rural areas an indigenous culture was preserved virtually untouched by outside influences. 369 177 565

The Japanese impact was first felt in the urban areas, and the city of Naha gradually assumed the characteristics of a Japanese city. It became the center for the diffusion of things Japanese into the countryside. Despite a number of important changes---abolition of communal land tenure, introduction of private property, gradual penetration of a money economy, introduction of schools and national organizations---rural-urban differences remained strong. The character of the village tended to remain homogeneous and conservative, and contacts with the city were infrequent. When one emigrated from the village, the move usually was to a point outside the country rather than to another part of the island.

World War II shattered the isolation and homogeneity of the village. The American occupation coupled with the cumulative effect of the change initiated by the Japanese has served to bring the village into a closer relationship with the urban areas. The result has been the urbanization of the rural areas. By means of newspapers, motion pictures, and radio the villager has come to share the cultural life of the city. Rural-urban differences in diet, dress, education, entertainment, mobility, and values are tending to disappear. Marked improvements in transportation have given the villager a new mobility, enabling him to participate in the labor market of the city and giving new outlets for his products. The nature of the village is increasingly more heterogeneous due to the presence of newcomers, increased occupational specialization, and greater interaction with the outside world. There is a greater reliance on goods produced by industrial society, and a number of villagers commute daily to a place of employment in the city or in nearby military installations. The trend is toward an ultimate disappearance of rural-urban differences; the process is one that is well advanced in the United States, but in Okinawa it is in an early stage. 369 177 178 621

Conclusion Okinawa has been in a process of change for over fifty years. World War II and the American military occupation have served to accelerate greatly the forces for change. Despite this, Okinawan culture has not been overwhelmed and has managed to preserve its identity. A number of 177 178

[Yamada]

regarded as adequate. Also, some of the land that was returned some time ago still has construction materials on it that must be removed. I also heard the complaint that it was not possible to gather fuel in certain areas in the mountains behind the village. One of the units there is said to fire upon Okinawans who approach the fence around it. So far as I know, no one has been hurt. The fact that Okinawans have been known to appropriate fence wire as scrap metal may be the cause of the apparent hostility of this unit. The villagers have no other contact with it. 621 727

Attitudes In 1945 when the American forces were landing on Okinawa the people of Yamada were trembling in their caves and dugouts expecting that if they survived the bombing of the planes they would probably be shot by the troops. One way or another a few people did lose their lives. One man was shot by an American soldier while trying to run away after coming out of his cave. Another Yamada man, who was teaching school in Kunigami at the time, is said to have been found by an American soldier while travelling with his family through the hills; the soldier made him put down the child he was carrying and then shot him where he stood, before the eyes of his wife and children. Two Yamada girls are said to have been raped. Whether these stories are true or not they are factors in the formation of attitudes toward Americans. Yet stories of such incidents are few and amount to little compared to the treatment that most Okinawans expected to receive at the hands of the Americans. Stories of unexpected kindness shown by the Americans in 1945 are numerous and are not forgotten. Nor are the few atrocity stories, though the balance is undoubtedly well on the credit side.

The variety of the experiences that the people of Yamada have had with Americans tends to make them see, I believe, more clearly than many Americans see, the necessity for avoiding generalizations and judging the individual on the basis of his own merits. One can find individuals who have had a wide range of experience even in a remote Okinawan village. One evening in Yamada I sat listening to the war stories of two brothers. Both had spent some time in Japan. One had lived in Manchuria as a settler, had seen the Kuomintang chase the 8th Route Army and vice versa, had finally been captured himself by the Russians and had managed, according to his account, to escape by making off with a Russian truck. The other brother matched this story by telling how he had been captured by the Americans and taken as a prisoner to Hawaii, where he had spent a year working at a laundry. He delighted us with his stories about the good food, the lazy guards, and how he had made off with large quantities of GI clothing by going back to the compound each night wearing several shirts and two and three pairs of pants. Despite their belief in ghosts and spirits, in matters of human relations these are mature and sophisticated men. They know that not all Americans are good, not all are bad, some are industrious, some are lazy, most are honest, but some are dishonest. On several occasions, while somewhat in his cups, the older of the two assured me that "the words are different but the heart is the same". This perhaps summarizes the faith of a good many Okinawans. 621 727 829

To summarize Okinawan-American relations in Yamada: There have been both formal relations between the neighboring unit and the village and school and informal relations between some of the men of the unit and some of the 621 727 199

2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over [177] twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

621 727 Kanegusuku The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 464 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses, there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 464 166 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary residence in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 ($5.00) in bus fares, but certainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a permanent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

621 464 829

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income [511] is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above subsistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or house- [462] hold head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family vegetable plots.

621 464 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.

621 464 Only five of these are household heads entitled to vote in village elections or assume village office, but because their jobs keep them out of the community much of the time, they are not given village offices. There is some feeling on the part of the villagers that they are out of touch with the affairs of a farming village; consequently, their influence in the village thus far has not been too great.

621 727 464 Jagaru and Tobaru The villages of Jagaru and Tobaru in Chatan-son offer a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in terms of the importance of military employment to the community. These two contiguous communities are hemmed in on all sides by military installations. They constitute little more than housing areas within a township that has lost, according to its officials, approximately 91% of its land to military installations.

[241] [178] Formerly nearly all of the families were engaged in farming as a full-time occupation; today less than one-sixth are farming and not all of these are able to depend on it for their sole support. Military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of these villages. In October of 1953 there were 2,352 persons out of a total population of 10,411 who were employed in military jobs. In addition there were a number of business establishments which were dependent on the trade of military personnel.

621 464 [434] The welfare of Jagaru and Tobaru is wholly dependent on military employment. In the fall of 1953 there were rumors of an anticipated cut of 10% in the over-all Okinawan labor force employed by the military. This would have made over two hundred individuals and their families without any source of income or means of livelihood. The people were much upset by this prospect as every family had at least one member employed in military jobs and were wholly or in part dependent on their income.

In contrast to Kanegusuku those who were engaged in military employment in these villages played an active role in community affairs. A great many of them are household heads, and they are not regarded as being out of touch with village affairs since the chief occupation of the villagers is military employment. While the Kanegusuku people regard securing a military job as good fortune, the people here regard it as a necessity. According to township officials most of this year's graduating class will look for jobs in the nearby installations.

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The villagers are bitter because they feel that the military has not paid them adequate rentals for the use of their land. There is also some resentment over the conduct of troops in these communities during their off-duty hours. In short, though the villages are completely dependent on the military for their livelihood, they are bitter and resentful in their attitude toward it. The possibility of job losses seems likely to heighten this feeling.

621 727 464 Henza Shima The island of Henza off the east central coast of Okinawa differs from the above communities in that a large segment of its population is engaged in military employment and yet the village itself is far removed from any military installation. This village suffered but slight damage and no loss of life during the war. After the war over four hundred repatriates returned to the village, bringing its population up to approximately 4,900.

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates has only added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, has filled this gap and staved off mass unemployment.

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At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installations. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland.

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There has long been a tradition for the men of Henza to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanegusuku, these people are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice.

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The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Henza relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island.

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Summary On Henza and to a far smaller degree in Kanegusuku military employment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanegusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Henza military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions.

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Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment Okinawans make a sharp distinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact,

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464 562 829 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly [831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 554 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are categorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and [291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing [117] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 554 582 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were no better than the "moneys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 466 [465] [515] The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath, and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 554 829 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimination against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

186 829 Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers It was the author's impression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.

The following statements were made by persons who were employed by Americans, and are typical of those frequently made: 186 829

"Americans are very impolite and always in a hurry."

"For such big people they are very gentle."

"We are all afraid of your (American) women." This statement was made by a male.

"Americans are very rich."

"The corporal who was my boss received a salary of about $500 a month, I think."

"Americans do not stay angry very long."

"We say Americans are like children with their feelings." This refers to the American openly displaying his emotions where an Okinawan would hold himself in check.

American Attitudes toward Okinawan Employees The novel and play, Teahouse of the August Moon, well depicts the American stereotypes of the Okinawans---the simple, child-like people who somehow by trickery and deception manage to frustrate the good intentions of their military administrators. When the play was briefly shown on Okinawa, the Okinawans reacted by objecting to being made to appear child-like an. dirty in contrast to the Americans. 000

The following comments were obtained from casual conversations with Americans who had Okinawans under their direction or in their personal employ:

"They don't know the meaning of truth."

"...but can you really trust them?"

"You would think that after eight years (of occupation) they would have picked up some English!"

"All you have to do is ask something out of the ordinary, and they hold a conference. And after that you have to ask them for their decision, as they won't volunteer this information."

"Once an idea is installed in their minds, they will hold it forever."

"After all, they really are like children, you know."

Most Okinawan comments about Americans centered on their wealth, the rushed nature of their lives, and their impoliteness. American commentary on Okinawans stressed tardiness, untruthfulness, and lack of initiative. It is amusing to note that both groups regarded the other as rather child-like. It 186 829

3: Pitts et al. E,K-5 (1953-1954) 1955 AC7 Okinawa AC7

It is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most often the initiator of action.

Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous. There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separation and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still remembered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguistically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese. They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.

2) Japanese Political Administration On the negative side is the domination, during the period of Japanese administration, of Okinawan public life by men from Japan. But on the other hand Okinawa became another perfecture and not a colony, and there were possibly not many more men in Okinawa from Japan's urban centers than in other remote and poor perfectures. As Japanese subjects in a Japanese prefecture, Okinawans could rise in the Japanese system and indeed a few did. The position of Okinawa was quite different from that of Korea. 648 829

Insofar as the Japanese policy of assimilation was successful, the fact that most of the important posts in the prefectural government were occupied by men from Tokyo could be ignored. If the Okinawans identified themselves as Japanese the difference would be less important. (The degree of Japanese domination and the harshness of the regime, moreover, seem to have become exaggerated in the minds of many of the Americans on Okinawa at present; some of the USCAR personnel with whom we talked appeared to be unaware of the fact that Okinawa had the same legal status as other parts of Japan.)

3) Japanese Assimilation Policy The policy of the Japanese government and particularly that of the Ministry of Education was undoubtedly one of cultural imperialism. The aim was to produce a uniform people. A strong attempt was made to eradicate the native language and many native customs that did not agree with Japanese ideals, the periodic redivision of land ('jiwari seido') and the use of the pigpen as a toilet, to name two. School teachers labelled the Okinawan language a "dialect" of Japanese, thus giving it inferior status, and labelled many Okinawan beliefs "superstitions". The army also undoubtedly attempted to replace Okinawan with Japanese ideals in many young men. These attempts may have produced hostility in some Okinawans, but it is our impression that the more usual result was to produce merely a feeling of inferiority. Okinawan speech and culture went down in value and Japanese speech and culture went up. Younger Okinawans who could not speak good Japanese felt inferior, but within the Japanese hierarchy. Moreover, in recent years Okinawan speech and customs have been given new prestige as museum pieces by the fact that outstanding Japanese scholars have devoted some attention to them. 648 177 829 152

4) Treatment of Okinawans in Japan Undoubtedly Okinawans who went to Japan in the twenties and thirties to look for employment were discriminated against by Japanese employers. A great number of Okinawans went to Osaka to work in the textile mills. Accounts of informants reveal that the mill foremen stereotyped Okinawans as lazy and unreliable and did not hesitate to say so. (In view of the conditions of labor, Americans in the same position might well have earned the same stereotype.) Some mills did not hire Okinawans if they could avoid it. 167 464 177

In rural Japan people were in utter ignorance of Okinawa. Students who were evacuated in 1944 to Kyushu discovered this. One young man told how the peasants in Miyazaki-ken thought that Okinawans were South Sea Islanders and expected them to come wearing clothes made of the leaves of trees and expected to have to teach them how to cook rice. 000

5) War Experiences Many younger and even middle-aged men saw service in the war, some in Manchuria, China, and Southeast Asia. Their experiences of course varied. One well-educated man told me how pleasant he found Burma and how much he would like to return there as a civilian; he had been in the Japanese Military Government there. Others returned from the war to tell of terrible experiences. One story, which was said to be well-known around Itoman, told how an Okinawan whose unit was making a last stand deserted to surrender to the Americans when he was warned by a friend that as an Okinawan he had been chosen to go into the pot for dinner.

On the home front old people, women, and children were able to see the army at first hand during the last few months before the battle, when many units prepared to defend the island. Many civilians saw the harsh army discipline and saw, we were told, how when army rations became short the officers continued to eat well while the men had to loot from the fields of the civilians. They remember the Korean labor units, some of whom in the south were detailed to cut the Okinawan farmers' trees to build defenses. They also remember the 'Chōsen-P', the Korean girls brought by the Japanese army to serve as prostitutes for the men; some informants believed the Japanese army's system of army brothels to be superior to the policy of the American army.

In general the present Okinawan view of the late Japanese army is not a flattering one. But it must be emphasized that most informants seemed quick to distinguish between the Japanese army and Japanese civilians, army policy and national culture.

6) The Present Scene The Japanese government's present display of interest in Okinawa, as seen for example in the recent granting of pensions to survivors of war dead, the renewed interest of Japanese scholars in Okinawan culture, and the movie industry's "Okinawa boom" have made an impression on the Okinawans. The government's interest may be mainly political; the interest of the scholars, however, is genuine, and the reasons for the movie boom too may run deeper than propaganda considerations. Okinawa was the only part of Japan, the only one of the forty-six prefectures, that was actually defended against a landing. The people of Okinawa were the only Japanese who fought to protect their homeland from invasion. And thus the people of Okinawa-ken showed the greatest heroism of any Japanese. This, potentially, is the argument that may one day raise the status of Okinawans to great heights in the Japanese scheme of things, apart from any conscious policy on the part of the Japanese government. Many Okinawans may be well aware of their latent heroism as a group. What they actually did go through as individuals must not be minimized and may well motivate some to try to derive some reward from it. (I must admit that this is speculation; I have not been told by any Okinawans that they are, or might be considered to be, the most heroic of the Japanese, but I believe that this interpretation is inherent in the situation.)

On the other hand, the differentiating treatment that Okinawans met in Japan in the past is still there too. Recently a volleyball team went to Japan, where, it is said, the first meal served them consisted of bread while the Japanese teams around them were served rice. When they objected they were told that it was understood that the Okinawans had become wholly Americanized

in diet and therefore ate bread instead of rice. The Okinawans objected and thereafter got rice too. 177 829

The few Japanese who are on Okinawa at present working mainly as contractors for the military are often spoken of contemptuously as 'Japani', but politely they are spoken of as 'Naichijin', "persons from the mainland [of Japan]". The term 'Nihonjin' still includes the Okinawans as far as most Okinawans are concerned. 186 829

These are some of the factors contributing to the attitudes that Okinawans feel toward Japan as such. Although there is overlapping, they must be distinguished from the basis of attitudes toward the possible reversion of Okinawa to the status of a Japanese prefecture. I shall discuss attitudes toward reversion after looking at some of the attitudes that exist toward the United States. 829

Attitudes toward the United States I shall confine myself to a discussion of attitudes derived from contact with Americans on Okinawa. Okinawans call Americans Amirikaa in Okinawan, 'Amerika-jin' or 'Amerika-san' in Japanese. The last is the most polite term. Upon asking for a term corresponding to the 'ketō', "hairy barbarian", of the last century, I was told that Amirikaa in a scornful tone of voice conveyed the same feeling. The diminutive, Amirikaa-gwaa, is used either for the child of an American or somewhat slurringly for an adult American. (These terms are usually used only for white Americans; colored Americans are classified differently. See below.) The following are some of the factors contributing to attitudes toward Americans: 177 829

1) Behavior of Individual Soldiers On the positive side are numerous unsolicited acts of kindness on the part of many GI's and the relatively free and easy relationship that often develops between Americans and Okinawans who work together. On the negative side there is the normal rowdiness of GI's, their frequently belligerent behavior when drunk (which is quite different from the sort of behavior Okinawans can expect of drunks---see p.147), and their frequent open display of sexuality (also contrary to Okinawan standards). There have also been a few acts of violence.

2) View of American Military Life When they first came in contact with the American armed forces in 1945, the Okinawans were greatly impressed by the contrast American military life presented to that of the Japanese. Several Okinawans commented to me at that time on the fact that officers worked alongside the men, often working even harder, and on the fact that officers did not discipline the men by slapping them. Slapping, one commented, was the business of the Japanese army.

Today their impressions are probably somewhat different. The distinctions between officers and men are undoubtedly greater now than in 1945. Moreover, morale and efficiency also undoubtedly declined after the end of the war and are at present rather low. One of the SIRI team saw a unit on maneuvers in the mountains of Kunigami. The men had hired Okinawan women to carry their packs; the officers had evidently driven home for the night. The impression this makes needs no comment.

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829 3) View of American Social Life With the large number of American women and children now on Okinawa and the large number of Okinawans employed as domestic servants, there is considerable opportunity for Okinawans to observe American family life. However, they may very well be getting a somewhat distorted view of American life by trying to generalize from the rather luxurious quarters provided for American dependents and from the behavior of American women who have now, many for the first time in their lives, plenty of domestic help.

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829 4) Official Policy On the positive side, the Okinawans were impressed by the generosity of the Americans with relief, especially in the early days of the occupation, they are impressed with the highway and communication system the occupation has brought them, and they have much good to say about changes in the police system, education, and other aspects of government--along with criticisms, of course, as had been discussed elsewhere. On the negative side, the most persistent criticisms have to do with the land question and the question of self-government.

A chapter has already been devoted to the land question. To summarize the points pertaining to this discussion: many Okinawans feel, and apparently with some justification, that the Army has not paid adequate rental on land. In some instances the payments have not reached the owners at all. In addition some Okinawans feel that land has been unnecessarily diverted from its vital agricultural use. One example is the unused airfield next to the village of Kitazato; another would be the Awase Meadows Golf Course. The resentment felt about the loss of land is re-enforced by the important cultural theme that we have stated elsewhere: one must not interfere with the livelihood of another. The Army, by taking land and not paying adequately for it, has interfered with the livelihood of the farmers.

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829 The question of self-government, to be discussed adequately, would require a whole chapter on the history of GRI and its predecessors; since this study was aimed at the community level, the history and structure of GRI were not investigated. The gist of the argument is, however, that instead of progressing toward a greater degree of self-government the Ryukyu Islands are in fact slipping backward. The present GRI with its appointed chief executive replaced an organization with an elected chief. Hence one of the two major political parties has insisted on an elected chief executive. The other major party is that of the chief executive. Those who see the appointment of the chief executive by USCAR as undemocratic assert that USCAR's professions to be bringing democracy to Okinawa are simply not true. Occasional
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829 clumsy maneuvers on the part of USCAR have only provided them with more ammunition. For example, various labor organizations and the People's Party (which is pretty clearly affiliated with the Communist Party of Japan) were planning to stage a parade on the First of May, 1954. USCAR opposed this, apparently feeling that the participation of the People's Party would make it look like a Communist demonstration. But in opposing it USCAR asserted that May Day is strictly a Communist holiday and on several occasions gave it the label "Karl Marx Day". A number of Okinawans pointed out that May Day was originally an American Labor holiday that had nothing to do with Marx, quoted encyclopedia articles to prove it, and concluded that the USCAR officials were either ignorant or deliberately misrepresenting the truth.

Actually, of course, although the adoption of May Day as a labor holiday had nothing to do with Karl Marx, it has been preempted by the Communists throughout the world, and the added participation of the People's Party on this occasion would have made it a Communist demonstration irrespective of the origin of the holiday. 648 829

Another rumor, not about corruption but about official policy, is one that we heard several times to the effect that the cost of the American occupation and particularly of dependent housing is coming out of the taxes paid by Okinawans. To the people of as poor a country as Okinawa it is nearly incredible that a country could be so wealthy that it is willing to build hundreds of beautiful homes (at an estimated cost of $20,000 to $30,000 each) in such a distant spot. This sort of belief is undoubtedly very damaging to the American position.

Attitudes toward American Negroes Since the first days of the occupation there have been Negro troops stationed on Okinawa. The Okinawan view of them and especially of their status in relation to white Americans is worth noting. The Okinawans do not use the word "American" or its equivalent for Negroes, but instead use one of several other words. Perhaps the commonest is 'kurombō' ("black-boy"), which may be identified with the English derogatory term "nigger". At any rate many Negroes on Okinawa have evidently made the identification; they are said to become angry when they hear the term used. The standard term, corresponding to the English "Negro", is 'Kokujin', but this also is said to be unacceptable to some; therefore other terms may be used when speaking of a Negro in his presence. One such term is 'iro-otoko', which means literally "color-man", but figuratively, "lover". The Okinawan attitudes toward Negroes are conditioned by three factors, Japanese racial attitudes, their observation of Negro-white relations on Okinawa, and the behavior of the Negro troops. 486 829

The Japanese are, or were before the Pacific War, a race-proud people. They classified the peoples of the South Seas and Southeast Asia as 'dojin', "natives", and their attitudes toward them were inclined to be colonial, exploitive, and superior. It is quite likely that Okinawans identify the American Negroes as 'dojin'. They probably have no concept of "colored" races; they certainly do not identify themselves with the Negroes as non-white. But since many Okinawans are aware that some Americans look upon Okinawans as a sort of "native people", the attitudes of white Americans toward non-white Americans are of especial interest to them.

In observing the American Army's treatment of Negroes the Okinawans have seen segregation and some discrimination. At present there are de jure no segregated units as there were during the Pacific War, but a unit at an ammunition dump near a village studied is still referred to as the 'kurombō butai'. The behavior of the Negro troops themselves is probably on the average a bit rowdier and less inhibited than that of the whites, partly because of an average lower education and partly because of some cultured differences especially in patterns of recreation. This behavior probably together with some stereotypes picked up from white Americans has made many Okinawans somewhat afraid of Negroes. Relations seem to be better, however, in those

196 areas where Negroes are more numerous and have become better known. The
829 presence of Negro officers and others of higher status undoubtedly does much to demonstrate to Okinawans that it is possible for non-whites to rise in the American system.

Attitudes toward Other Peoples The Ryukyuan kingdom was once a vassal state of China and had considerable direct contact with China. Among some older Okinawans things Chinese still are valued. However, the younger people who expressed any opinion to us on China and the Chinese expressed opinions almost bordering on contempt. The years of lack of national unity and of Japanese aggression have left their mark on the Okinawan view of China. The news that a group on Formosa has agitated for a reversion of Okinawa to Nationalist China can hardly have been taken seriously by anyone.

Attitudes toward the Filipinos are probably also colored by Japanese attitudes toward "natives" and by American discriminatory practices in wages. Moreover, the fact that many of the Filipinos who have worked on Okinawa speak very poor English probably gives them a lower status in the eyes of the Okinawans.

668 The Status of Okinawa There is certainly no unanimity of opinion on what
829 would be the most desirable status for Okinawa. As I have tried to indicate, attitudes toward both Japan and the United States are varied and ambivalent. Both practical considerations and emotional reasons have motivated some Okinawans to agitate for reversion to Japan. For most reversionists reversion appears to mean simply political reversion, return of the political administration to Japan; the majority of reversionists do not seem to be saying "Yankee Go Home"; they grant the necessity of military bases on Okinawa both for the military security of the Far East and at present for the economic security of Okinawa. This seems to be the point of view of the Social Mass Party, which won nearly half the seats in the last election.

Generally those who feel that they would gain materially by the reversion of Okinawa are teachers and other state employees who feel that they have lost status, the owners of land being used by the military who feel that reversion would bring the rental up to standards paid in Japan, and some politicians who want to participate in Japanese national as well as local politics. Generally those who would stand to lose by reversion are the businessmen, because of the increase in taxes and the free competition from the large Japanese industries that reversion would bring, the skilled and semi-skilled laborers who might be replaced by Japanese if free movement were permitted between Japan and Okinawa, and again some of the present political leaders.

However, there are emotional reasons for embracing reversionism that may far outweigh practical considerations. In the chapter on family life
[152] and again in the chapter on health I stressed one of the basic anxieties created within Okinawan culture---the fear of being cut off from parents, the fear of being cut off from the deceased ancestors, the fear of being alone.

The frequent use of the word 'sabishii', "lonely", expresses this anxiety. One often hears that Okinawa is a 'sabishii' place. The frequent use of the term 'sokoku', "ancestral country", in reversionist literature suggests that this anxiety is operating in the realm of politics too. Many Okinawans do not want to stand alone. They want to be part of a larger system. They cannot identify themselves with the United States or with any other country but Japan and so even though they recognize that Japan in the past did not always treat them fairly, they would still prefer to be part of Japan. This I believe is part of the emotional basis of reversionism; it has its roots in the Okinawan family and Okinawan religion. 668 829 152

For the politically more sophisticated reversionist we must add the discontent he feels with the present regime and the hope that reversion would mean greater political freedom. This type might be more numerous still if it were not for the obvious economic difficulties that reversion would bring, to say nothing of the chaos that would come if American forces were to pull out altogether. 668 829